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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS) The subculture is extremely significant in the child's state of preparedness for learning at the time of entry into school. His self-concept, level of aspiration, motivation, and overall appreciation of the educational process and its goals are products of his environment. The subculture of the Negro has been, and still is, characterized by restriction, frustration, fear, anxiety, poverty, illiteracy, and apathy toward education. When Negro children, typical products of the Negro subculture, are suddenly thrust into the integrated school situation, they will experience feelings which tend to be detrimental to their performance. Social threat or rejection and isolation of the Negro child by his white peers in school may be significant factors in the lowered performance of Negroes. Evidence indicates that Negro students have feelings of intellectual inferiority which arise from an awareness of the white group's stereotype of Negroes. Thus, the belief in the low probability of success when in competition with whites would tend to reduce effort. The feeling that harm or pain or disapproval will result as a consequence of failure is another type of situational event which would also tend to reduce effort. Emphasizing positive attitudes and aspects, organizing active campaigns for raising funds, attitudes and standards, avoiding unconscious prejudice by pushing interracial contacts, reassessing testing methods, and supporting civil rights acts are active ways in which educational administrators and policy-makers can facilitate the process of school desegregation.							
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THE EFFECT OF DESEGREGATION ON THE NEGRO STUDENT

Dr. Ersoff, Dr. Stokes, Superintendents of Education, Members of
School Boards, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am pleased and honored to have
been asked to speak to you at this Institute. I congratulate the
University of Miami and the immediate sponsors of this Institute for
their foresight in what may well be among the guiding light for approaching
educational problems on the contemporary American Scene, and especially
in the southeastern region. For while the problems of the contemporary
educational scene in America are relatively new and complex and require
originality and creativity in their solution, they were not unanticipated
by social scientists and thoughtful laymen. Events occurring many years
ago and trends emerging over a substantial period of time (which cannot
be chronicled here because of time limitations) resulted in a pattern
of continuity leading inevitably to the problems and possibilities of
education in America today. Thus war, depression, poverty, industrial-
ization, urbanization, modern developments in transportation and communication,
increased literacy, and scientific knowledge have, over the years, provided
a seedbed from which judicial decisions, legislative action and special
policy have emerged providing us with the problem under consideration
today at this Institute; namely, how can modern public education success-
fully and effectively deal with the problem of desegregation.

In order to have a fuller appreciation of the nature of the desegre-
gation problem in public education and especially how it affects the Negro
student in the desegregated situation it seems necessary to review briefly
the nature of culture and its transmission and distribution in America;
and more specifically, the subculture from which has molded Negro students

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now venturing into the process of desegregation. Against such a background a description of how the desegregation process affects the Negro student should be more clearly discernible and educational policies and programs to deal with the problem may be more rationally conceived.

Briefly, culture may be thought of as all of learned behavior and the products of learned behavior, socially developed, and transmitted from one generation to another. Thus culture includes non-material traits, complex and patterns, such as language, customs, laws, values, folkways and moral beliefs; as well as material elements such as tools, buildings, machinery, artifacts, clothing, etc. It would seem that in a democratic society such as America the total content of culture would be accessible to all individuals either as a matter of right or personal effort and achievement. The fact is, however, that although the culture of American society is universal in its reality a number of other factors prevent the total content of culture from being equally acquired all members of the society.

Within one's geographic region, community, neighborhood, family, and peer group certain aspects of the total culture may be selected for emphasis or attention at the expense of other culture traits which may be regarded as being of more value in other parts of the society. Furthermore, in a particular region, community, or neighborhood, certain individuals and groups may be prohibited from participating in the same way, in various aspects of the culture. By way of illustration of this point we may refer to the fact that the South has through the years elected certain racial values from the total culture content of America; has given these values a certain emphasis, and consequently has systematically restricted the activities of the Negro, as well as the point of view of the white southerner.

Likewise of the aspect of culture selected by a particular local area of grouping the interpretations of these culture elements may and does vary from group to group and community to community. By interpretation, I mean the way in which the particular culture trait or pattern is meaningfully made manifest and operation in a region, community or family. For example, in the South racial segregation has been traditionally selected as a social pattern. But the interpretation of segregation has historically varied from place to place and group to group within the region. Thus one community in North Florida has customarily permitted Negroes to hire taxicabs with white drivers while 50 miles to the east such would not have been tolerated. In certain parts of the South segregation has included persons standing in lines at banks and liquor stores while such a degree of separation has not been thought to be necessary in other parts of the South.

Thus, when the culture trait or pattern finally reaches the individual it may bear little resemblance to the national conception of it. This reduction and modification process of more generalized culture patterns by more localized groupings is what the sociologist refers to as subculture. And in the final analysis it is the subculture that surrounds an individual which provides his perception action norms, and definitions of situations. It becomes clear, then, that when an individual or group is impelled to action with regard to some situation, the action taken is very likely to be in accordance with local, subcultural norms rather than the more generalized ideal of the society as a whole, or the subcultural

norms of an unfamiliar grouping or remote geographic area. What is real, proper, logical, and sound to a person is very largely determined by his subcultural environment. The subculture, therefore, is extremely significant in the child's state of preparedness for learning at the time of entry into school; the child's self-conception, his level of aspiration; his motivation, as well as his overall appreciation of the educational process and its goals.

The content and goals of modern public education in America for the most part have been established by native, white, protestant, gentile, urban, big city, middleclass, males. The student who possesses the greater number of these background characteristics is more likely to succeed in school. On the other hand a foreign-born, Negro, Jewish, rural, farm, lower class, female will be more likely to fail in school. And the probability of failure should increase in proportion to the number these traits possessed.

Let us not turn to a brief examination of the subculture of the Negro so that we may have a fuller knowledge of the typical Negro student entering the desegregated educational system.

First, the subculture of the Negro has been, and still is, one of restriction and frustration. The Negro is still generally confined to traditional roles and jobs -- largely because of prejudice and discrimination -- but also because his subcultural experience has left him ill-equipped to take advantage of emerging opportunities in the desegregated economic and social structure. The Negro is perhaps the only minority group in America that enters the occupational hierarchy at the top and bottom at the same

time. He is forced to take a job at the lowest level and, for him, that is as high as he can go. (e.g..working on the garbage truck - rarely gets in the driver's seat). In the State Capital at Tallahassee, Negroes begin work as janitors and retire at this same position 25 years later -- they are never upgraded even to clerk or sanitary engineer.

The Negro is further frustrated by the repeated admonition by well-meaning whites that must "earn" his civil rights. Seventy years ago, Booker T. Washington was naive enough to believe that if Negroes proved themselves to be good craftsmen and hard working citizens that their full acceptance by whites would be automatically forthcoming. The years from then to the present time have forcibly demonstrated the error of this thinking.

The Negro wonders how the Hungarian refugees of 1959 "earned" their civil rights in America. Or how the Cubans expatriated from their native land "earned" theirs. Here in Miami, Cubans not only have rights and jobs never permitted the Negro but also have taken over many of the traditional Negro jobs (e.g. waiters and bellman on Miami Beach). The Negro is required to take baths, pass intelligence tests, earn high degrees and develop super skills before he can begin to go first class.

Second, the Negro's subculture is a world of fear, anxiety and suspicion. The Negro has to be fearful and anxious about things beneath the perception threshold of whites. He is forced by experience, to anticipate insult by police, waiters, elected officials, and lay white supracracists. He has anxiety as to whether or not he will be able to eat in a restaurant, sleep in a motel, urinate in a restroom or fish or swim in the

international waters of the Atlantic Ocean. He is forced to be suspicious of whites who refuse to pay the minimum wage, who induce him to sign contracts which he cannot read and interpret correctly, who sell worthless insurance policies who sell him Cadillacs and color television sets by day and burn crosses before his home by night; and who shoot into his car as he drives, without stopping, through a town. (It gets to be a fixation e.g. bedding).

Third, the subculture of the Negro is subculture of poverty and illiteracy. The poverty I speak of is well below the standard set by the Economic Opportunity Act. As a matter of fact, if many Negro families had incomes of \$2999. per year they would feel that they were living rather comfortably. The poverty I speak of is the poverty of the three-room, unpainted shanty, with a water faucet -- if any -- is in the yard or on the back stoop; little or if any electricity, and no inside toilet. I can find many examples of this in Tallahassee, either Florida cities and those of South Georgia.

The illiteracy of the Negro is too well known to belabor here. The subculture of the Negro neither required nor permitted the development of widespread appreciation of literacy. And most literate Negroes have less than two generations of literate ancestors behind them.

Fourth, the Silberman says in his Crisis in Black and White, the subculture of the Negro is a subculture of "inferiority". (real and symbolic). By almost every criterion known to man, Negroes in general, do not measure up to whites. Test scores, income and wealth levels, life expectancy, health status, cultural exposure, political prominence and accumulation of power, Negroes are lower than whites. (there are no

exceptions --Thank God for Bob Hayes, Wilt the Stilt, Willie Mays, Jimmy Brown and Cassius, the Greatest). And this inferiority is often reinforced by school teachers and administrators complaining of his "poor" background, low aspiration and stultified motivation. Teachers and schools often resort to "social promotion" to move the problem along rather than eliminate it. The Negroes' self esteem must suffer under these circumstances. (Reinforced by symbols --)

Fifth, the subculture of the Negro, especially as relates to education, has been a subculture of accommodation and apathy -- one wherein the goals of the school were not goals of education, but rather, the goals of segregation --thereby inducing accommodation to routine, and nondescript and unimaginative curricula; and apathy about the achievement of high standards in teaching and learning. Substantial evidence can be marshalled to indicate that principals and often highly ranked instructional personnel achieved their positions because of demonstrated willingness to accept the status quo in the education of Negroes and/or demonstrated ability to maintain "smooth operation" within the segregated school and to preserve overt "racial peace and harmony". In the Negro schools the overriding goal became that of "not" racking the "boat" of racial segregation. Except for mechanical salary increments and continuing contracts relatively few Negro school personnel felt that need, or were encouraged to obtain higher competencies for educational purposes in their chosen fields. Such persons having vested interests in the protective wall of segregation have become increasingly anxious about their futures as desegregation became more imminent and their capabilities and performances might be exposed in the hard cold light of comparison with their white counterparts. While this pathetic situation exists, the fairness, it must be painted and that such

persons were product of the segregated subculture of the Negro, externally imposed by white superiors.

From such a system could only emerge students possessing the same attitudes of accommodation and apathy toward educational excellence and essentiality of learning.

Psychologists, social psychologists and sociologists have amassed bodies of evidence to indice that Negro children, growing up in this subculture often tend to have attitudes of self-hatred, authoritarianism, submission and deference, negativism toward learning, and hostility, even toward the segregated Negro school. Since the school --even the Negro school-- espouses concepts not congruent with other aspects of the subculture, such as emphasis on literacy, it therefore is often visualized by the Negro youth as an enemy to be fought or avoided. Hence, truancy, vandalism, and dropouts.

What happens when a child or youth from this subculture finds himself, voluntarily or otherwise in the desegregated school, most often with a predominance of whites? How does desegregation affect the academic performance of Negroes? Irwin Katz has reviewed and evaluated the greater portion of the empirical evidence on this problem (American Psychologist, June, 1964) and most of the comments that follow are based on his article.

Negro students who pioneered the desegregation process as specific litigants in Little Rock, St. Louis, and the like are not typical of the Negro student population since they were carefully selected as "guinea pigs"

on the basis of superior academic performance. School systems now facing the problem of desegregation will, in all probability, have to deal with increasing numbers of typical products of the Negro subculture.

Social threat is one fear that the Negro child in the desegregated situation is likely to experience. Social threat refers to the anxious expectation that others will inflict harm or pain. While in many instances of desegregation few attacks on Negroes have been manifest because of his conditioning in his subculture where suspicion of whites is pervasive, the Negro students often carry the burden of this threat --whether real or imagined. Such threat will obviously be unfavorable to his scholastic performance.

Social rejection and isolation of the Negro child by his white peers in school may be a significant factor in the lowered performance of Negroes. Evidence indicates that Negroes in desegregated situations fear disapproval of whites and often have covert or internalized symptoms of distress such as enuresis, nightmares, withdrawal and physical symptoms. Other evidence indicates that in schools where social acceptance was typical academic success was achieved. (Jas. Meredith, Hamilton Holmes -- never studied in the library, ate in a dining hall, used the gymnasium, entered the snack bar, visited no whites and were visited by none.)

Another class of factors tending to be detrimental to the performance of Negroes in desegregated situations is Probability of Success. The evidence indicates that Negro students have feelings of intellectual inferiority which arise from an awareness of actual differences in racial achievement, or from irrational acceptance of the white groups' stereotype of Negroes. Studies demonstrates overwhelmingly that education in Negro schools is inferior to that of whites. This fact has

been widely publicized. Desegregated Negro students, knowing, this, may not even try hard to succeed or excel, believing it impossible. Other evidence suggests that Negro students often perform more poorly on tasks after being told that they are competing with whites. Thus, the belief of Negro students in the low probability of success when in competition with whites would tend to reduce effort.

Finally, failure threat is another class of situation events which tend to reduce effort. This is the feeling that harm or pain, or disapproval will result as a consequence of failure. The pathological consequences of this type of threat may result from the fear of stereotyping of all Negroes by whites as a result of his failure, or from the feeling that he has "embarrassed" the Negro race by failing. Negroes in desegregated situations still feel that they are "representing their people" --a feeling all too often reinforced by well-meaning white teachers and administrators. (e.g. you are a credit or disgrace to your race!)

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, one point remains to be touched on, What should Educational administrators and policy-makers do to facilitate the process of school desegregation?

1. Take a positive attitude. In those instances where the duly Constitutional officials have assumed a positive and optimistic posture the desegregation process has proceeded with a relative minimum of trauma.

2. Don't lower standards . The Negro student does not want the school and teachers to emulate his deprived subculture.
3. Organize campaigns to develop pride in school learning and intellectual achievement among Negroes.
4. Procure funds and establish effective programs of compensatory education for Negroes (e.g. Higher Horizons, the Great Cities Project) to bridge the gap between the subculture of Negroes, and the required culture of educational achievement.
5. Identify the positive aspects of the Negro subculture and utilize these in educational programing.
6. Avoid unconscious prejudice and inadvertent discrimination (e.g. "Your people".)
7. Develop in-service programs to aid teachers to perform better in the desegregated school.
8. Procure scholarship and grant funds for Negro teachers so that they may go to school, obtain better qualifications and thereby compete on a more equitable basis for positions in the desegregated system.
9. Learn to accept Negro adults as peers and to deal with them on this plane. Plan "with" them and not "for" them. Avoid paternalism.

10. Marshal the creative and imaginative talent that opposed desegregation so successfully for so long and use their ingenuity in facilitating the process.
11. Institute programs for contacting the parents of Negro students and help them to understand what they can do to prepare children for schooling and to foster achievement once the children are in school.
12. Reasses the predictive value of conventional tests as indicators of the achievement of Negroes in light of subcultural conditioning.
13. Utilize all appropriate provisions of the Civil Rights Act and the Equal Opportunity Act in facilitating the school desegregation process.
14. Provide for the extension of interracial contacts of students, parents and educational personnel beyond the school setting, so that Negroes and Whites may learn to be at ease with one another.
15. Utilize proportionately more textbooks, library materials and institutional aids by, and about, Negroes in the normal routine of school.

Finally, I submit, that these things should, and must be done; not because I say so; not to comply with either court decisions or the Civil Right Act; but rather to take one giant step toward the realization of the American Ideal and our democratic way of life.